

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3730

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, UR, UK,IT

SUBJECT: SEGRE ON THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. SUMMARY. THE BRITISH HEAD OF CHANCERY HERE (MALLABY) HAS BRIEFED US ON A CONVERSATION FEB 29 WITH SERGIO SEGRE, HEAD OF THE PCI INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT, DURING THE LATTER'S STAY IN MOSCOW IN CONNECTION WITH THE CPSU PARTY CONGRESS. AMONG THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONVERSATION: SEGRE SAID THAT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE DRAFTING GROUP FOR THE ERUOEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE
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(ECPC) WOULD PROBABLY BEGIN LATE MARCH, THOUGH NO FIRM SCHEDULE

HAS BEEN AGREED UPON; HE PREDICATED THAT THE CPSU WOULD SOME DAY RECOGNIZE POLYCENTRISM IN THE WORLD MOVEMENT AND RECOGNIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF OTHER PARTIES, FOR IT HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DO SO; HE CRITICIZED MARCHAIS' "HISTRIONICS" ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AS BEING COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, AND CLAIMED THAT THE PCI PRESENTED "REPRESENTATION LISTS" TO THE CPSU ON JEWISH EMIGRATION CASES IN WHICH IT WAS INTERESTED. SEGRE ALSO HAD COMMENTS ON THE COMPETENCE OF SEVERAL HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET OFFICIALS. WE FIND SEGRE'S REMARKS ON MOST SUBJECTS NOT ESPECIALLY ENLIGHTENING, AND SUSPECT THAT HIS PORTRAYAL OF THE CPSU AS BEING ON THE VERGE OF "RECONSIDERING ITS ATTITUDE TO THE 'INDEPENDENT' NON-RULING PARTIES" IS MORE OF AN EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAN A DESCRIPTION OF REALITY. END SUMMARY.

2. TOGETHER WITH TWO MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY AND THREE WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS MALLABY SPENT TWO HOURS ON 29 FEBRUARY IN CONVERSATION WITH SERGIO SEGRE, HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI), WHO WAS HERE FOR THE CPSU CONGRESS. MALLABY REPORTED THAT ON THE SUBJECT OF THE EUROPEAN PARTY CONFERENCE SEGRE CONFIRMED THAT THE EAST GERMAN PARTY HAD CIRCULATED TO ALL PARTICIPANTS A TEXT OF THE AGREED PARTS OF THE DRAFT DOCUMENT WITH A RECORD OF THE DIFFERING VIEWS ON THE UNAGREED PARTS. SEGRE SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO FORMAL MEETING TO DISCUSS THE DOCUMENT IN THE MARGIN OF THE CPSU CONGRESS. THE DATE HAD NOT YET BEEN FIXED FOR THE NEXT MEETING OF THE DRAFTING GROUP) BUT IT WAS LIKELY TO BE IN LATE MARCH. SEGRE SAID THE CPGB (COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN) WAS PLAYING ALMOST NO ROLE IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE BUT SEEMED IN GENERAL TO SIDE WITH THE "INDEPENDENTS".

3. SPEAKING ON "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM", SEGRE AGREED THAT THIS CATCHWORD OF THE CPSU CONGRESS WAS PROBABLY MEANT BY THE RUSSIANS TO INDICATE THAT PARTIES SHOULD ALWAYS STRESS THEIR COMMON VIEWS AND THAT "INDEPENDENT" PARTIES SHOULD NOT PUBLICIZE HETERODOX VIEWS OR CRITICIZE THE USSR. SEGRE SPECULATED THAT THE ZARODOV DEBATE AND THE VAGUE BUT REPEATED USE OF THE PHRASE "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AT THE CPSU CONGRESS MIGHT INDICATE THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE RECONSIDERING THEIR ATTITUDE TO THE "INDEPENDENT" NON-RULING PARTIES. THE ONLY VIABLE POLICY FOR THE RUSSIANS WAS TO RECOGNIZE POLYCENTRISM AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF

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EVERY PARTY. IF THE RUSSIANS WERE NOT PROVOKED TOO MUCH BY WESTERN PARTIES THEY MUST ONE DAY COME TO SUCH RECOGNITION. SEGRE AGREED THAT AT PRESENT THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY INDICATING DISPLEASURE WITH THE WESTERN DISSIDENT PARTIES, BUT WITHOUT NAMING NAMES -- SOMETHING OF A MIDDLE COURSE BETWEEN OPEN POLEMICS AND DOING NOTHING AT ALL.

4. SEGRE SAID THAT MARCHAIS, IN HIS CRITICISMS OF THE USSR, WAS

ENGAGING IN HISTORIC GESTURES MORE THAN POLICY. THE SUDDEN LOVE OF THE PCF FOR SOVIET DISSIDENTS MIGHT PROVOKE THE CPSU INTO AN ATTEMPT TO ASSERT SOME CONTROL OVER THE NON-RULING EUROPEAN PARTIES. THAT WOULD NOT BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PCF OR THE PCI. ASKED WHAT TYPE OF PRESSURE THE CPSU COULD EXERT ON THE PCF, SEGRE SAID THAT, WHILE THE RUSSIANS COULD NOT RUN THEIR INTER-STATE RELATIONS WITH FRANCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF CPSU/PCF RELATIONS, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT MAKE SOME GESTURE TOWARDS GISCARD. SERGE DENIED THAT THE CPSU NOWADAYS COULD INFLUENCE THE PCF OR PCI BY DENYING THEM FUNDS (BUT DID NOT ADMIT OR DENY THAT SOVIET SUBSIDIES WERE STILL PROVIDED). SEGRE ALSO SAID THAT MARCHAIS DISPLAYED THE PUBLIC RELATIONS NATURE OF HIS CRITICISM OF THE USSR WHEN HE CLAIMED PUBLIC CREDIT FOR THE RELEASE OF PLYUSHCH. THE PCI KNEW FROM EXPERIENCE THAT MUCH COULD BE DONE BY QUIET REPRESENTATIONS TO HELP DISSIDENTS IN THE USSR AND NOTHING BY PUBLIC DEMANDS WHICH ENGAGED SOVIET PRESTIGE. THE ITALIAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS EVERY THREE MONTHS PROVIDED THE PCI WITH A LIST OF SOVIET JEWS WISHING TO EMIGRATE. THE PCI PASSED THIS TO THE RUSSIANS AND KNEW THAT MANY OF THE JEWS GOT OUT.

5. SPEAKING ON SOVIET PERSONALITIES, SEGRE SAID THAT HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT BREZHNEV'S IMMEDIATE AIDES, LIKE ALEKSANDROV, WERE AMONG THE BRIGHTEST AND MORE FLEXIBLE SOVIET OFFICIALS. THE SAME APPLIED TO SOME PEOPLE IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ESPECIALLY ZAGLADIN. STOESSEL

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